

Message Text

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CHEROKEE

FOR THE SECRETARY ONLY FROM SCHAUFLE

EO 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PFOR, US ZA OVIP (SCHAUFLE, WILLIAM E., JR.)

SUBJECT: CONVERSATION WITH KAUNDA ON SOUTHERN AFRICA

1. I MET WITH KAUNDA FOR OVER ONE HOUR EVENING JULY 8.

KAUNDA HAD BEEN IN ALL-DAY SESSION WITH HIS TOP ADVISORS
DISCUSSING ZAMBIAN SECURITY IN LIGHT OF RECENT LANDMINE
INCIDENTS ON NAMIBIAN BORDER.

2. I PRESENTED MY TALKING POINTS IN FULL DETAIL AND KAUNDA
TOOK WHAT APPEARED TO BE COPIOUS NOTES.

3. KAUNDA'S RESPONSE STARTED WITH A BRIEF RECITATION OF
THE HISTORY OF EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE MAJORITY RULE IN RHODESIA.
HE POINTED OUT THAT SMITH IS IN FULL CONTROL IN RHODESIA AND
SO FAR HAS DEFIED ALL EFFORTS FOR FORWARD MOVEMENT. SPEAKING
"OUT OF EXPERIENCE AND NOT EMOTION" KAUNDA SAID RECORD OF
TEN YEARS OF EFFORT DEALING WITH SMITH IS NOT ENCOURAGING. WE
ARE DEALING WITH SMITH AND ON THE BASIS OF PAST EXPERIENCE
"ONCE BITTEN, TWICE SHY". HE RECALLED THAT HE HAD BEEN
HARMED IN AFRICA BY SOME OF HIS PREVIOUS EFFORTS.

4. THE NEW ELEMENT HE SAID IS THE PRESENCE OF THE US IN THE
PROCESS WHICH IS A DEFINITE ADVANTAGE. IF HE COULD BE

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PERSUADED THAT VORSTER AND SMITH WOULD AGREE TO THE KIND OF

PROCESS LAID OUT IN MY TALKING POINTS, HE WOULD BE WILLING TO "STICK MY NECK OUT". THE PREPARED PROGRAM ITSELF IS ACCEPTABLE TO HIM. HOWEVER, HE SAID, HE DID WANT TO CONSIDER IT FURTHER AND ALSO FULLY ASSIMILATE THE POINTS WE HAD BROUGHT UP.

5. KAUNDA SAW NO PROBLEM OVER THE RESUMPTION OF BRITISH RULE IN RHODESIA, WHICH TO THE UN IS STILL A BRITISH COLONY, AS LONG AS THE ARRANGEMENTS ARE CLEAR CUT AND ACCEPTABLE TO THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY. HOWEVER, HE THOUGHT THAT THE YPI-MONTH TO TWO-YEAR DEADLINE FOR MAJORITY RULE AS SET FORTH IN THE CALLAGHAN PLAN WAS NO LONGER REALISTIC AND THAT TIME WOULD HAVE TO BE SHORTER. HE ADDED THAT ALL POLITICAL GROUPS, INCLUDING THE GUERRILLAS, WOULD HAVE TO BE INVOLVED IN THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD. HE DIGRESSED TO CHIDE US MILDLY FOR HAVING PUT THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR RHODESIA ON BRITISH SHOULDERS TOO OFTEN IN THE PAST.

6. REGARDING NKOMO, HE SAID HE HAD NO DOUBT THAT NKOMO HAD ADEQUATE SUPPORT IN RHODESIA NOW. THE PROBLEM IS THAT NKOMO COULD BECOME IRRELEVANT IF THE FIGHTING ESCALATES AND THE POLITICAL LEADERS BECOME LESS OF A FACTOR IN THE FUTURE OF RHODESIA. HE SAID IF THE GUERRILLAS BECOME THE DOMINANT FORCE THE FUTURE ATTITUDES AND POLICIES OF AN INDEPENDENT GOVERNMENT WOULD BE RADICALLY DIFFERENT FROM THOSE OF AN NKOMO-LED GOVERNMENT.

7. REGARDING NAMIBIA, HE POINTED OUT THAT AN INDEPENDENT NAMIBIA WOULD BE A GOOD BUFFER FOR SOUTH AFRICA IN TERMS OF ANGOLA AND THE CUBANS AND THAT SOUTH AFRICA SHOULD REALIZE THIS. VORSTER SHOULD HELP THE PROCESS RATHER THAN HINDER IT. WE COULD MOVE QUICKLY TO GET WESTERN TRAINED CADRES TO NAMIBIA FROM ZAMBIA. SWAPO, WHICH IS LIKELY TO BECOME THE DOMINANT IF NOT SINGLE PARTY IN NAMIBIA, WOULD ONLY BECOME MORE MILITANT, MORE ALIGNED AND MORE DEPENDENT ON OUTSIDE HELP THE LONGER SELF-DETERMINATION IS POSTPONED. HE ADDED "WE WANT THE SOVIETS AND THE CUBANS ISOLATED IN ANGOLA".

8. REITERATING A COMMON POINT, KAUNDA STATED THAT UNLIKE THE CASE OF RHODESIA THE COURSE OF EVENTS IN NAMIBIA CAN BE CONTROLLED EXCLUSIVELY BY SOUTH AFRICA AND VORSTER'S ACTIONS

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THERE COULD BE THE BEST PROOF OF HIS INTENTIONS TOWARD RHODESIA. IN OTHER WORDS, IF THERE WERE QUICK MOVEMENT ON NAMIBIA, THE AFRICANS WOULD BE LESS INCLINED TO BE SCEPTICAL ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY THAT VORSTER WOULD PUT THE NECESSARY PRESSURE ON SMITH.

9. HE NOTED THAT IT WOULD BE UP TO SWAPO TO DECIDE ABOUT THE VENUE OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE AND THE CONDITIONS OF

ITS OWN PARTICIPATION BUT STRESSED THAT HE WOULD RECOMMEND TO SWAPO THAT THERE WAS NOTHING TO LOSE BY ACCEPTING THE IDEAS PROPOSED IN MY TALKING POINTS. HE SAID THAT HE WOULD REFLECT TO OUR CONVERSATION, AND BE IN TOUCH WITH ME WHEN I TRANSIT LUSAKA MORNING OF JANUARY 10 ON MY WAY TO DAR ES SALAAM.

10. KAUNDA IS STILL QUITE COMPLIMENTARY TO VORSTER, HIS BASIC INTENTIONS REGARDING RHODESIA AND HIS SUGGESTIONS FOR DEALING WITH THE DETAILS OF THE FIRST ROUND OF THE SMITH-NKOMO NEGOTIATIONS. HE SAID THAT HE WAS SATISFIED THAT VORSTER HAS INTERNAL PROBLEMS, ESPECIALLY THE PRO-SMITH CONSTITUENCY AMONG THE FARMERS, WHICH COULD RESULT IN VORSTER'S LOSING POPULAR SUPPORT IF HE PUSHED SMITH TO ACCEDE TO MAJORITY RULE.

11. ONE THING THAT KAUNDA DID EXPRESS CONCERN ABOUT IS THE CHRONOLOGY OF A POSSIBLE VISIT BY YOU TO AFRICA AS OUTLINED IN THE TALKING POINTS. UNLESS THERE WERE ADEQUATE INDICATIONS THAT VORSTER HAD ALREADY AGREED TO OUR PROPOSALS, HE WOULD FIND IT DIFFICULT TO PROVIDE HIS SUPPORT -- WHICH WOULD BE ASSUMED FROM A VISIT HERE ON THE WAY TO SOUTH AFRICA -- ON THE BASIS OF YOUR GOING TO SOUTH AFRICA TO PERSUADE VORSTER TO AGREE. I DIFFERED WITH HIM ON THIS POINT STATING THAT YOU WOULD PROBABLY NOT GO TO SOUTH AFRICA UNLESS THERE WERE A CHANCE OF SUCCESS AND, SECONDLY, THE AFRICAN LEADERS, INCLUDING HIMSELF, HAD NOTHING TO LOSE BY PRIVATELY ASSURING US OF THEIR SUPPORT BEFORE YOU WENT TO SOUTH AFRICA. THEY WOULD DEMONSTRATE THEIR MODERATION AND GOODWILL. HE AGREED TO THINK FURTHER UPON THIS PARTICULAR DETAIL. AT THE CLOSE OF OUR CONVERSATION, KAUNDA SPECIFICALLY SAID HE AGREED WITH YOU THAT THIS SHOULD BE A RAPID, SHARP PROCESS BEST CARRIED OUT IN THE TIME FRAME THAT WE ARE THINKING ABOUT.

12. FINALLY, HE EXPRESSED HIS APPRECIATION ONCE AGAIN FOR
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YOUR VISIT HERE, THE CLEAR INTENTIONS OF THE US TO PARTICIPATE ACTIVELY IN THE SEARCH FOR A SOLUTION TO SOUTHERN AFRICAN PROBLEMS AND YOUR COURTESY IN SENDING ME OUT TO SEE HIM. IN CLOSING WE AGREED ON CONFIDENTIALITY -- "NOTHING WILL LEAK FROM ZAMBIA" -- AND THE NECESSITY TO AVOID LOOKING FOR A PERFECT SOLUTION WHICH COULD HOLD UP REAL PROGRESS. WE ALSO AGREED THAT I WOULD TELL THE PRESS THAT THE PRESIDENT AND I HAD HAD A FULL DISCUSSION OF SOUTHERN AFRICAN PROBLEMS IN THE LIGHT OF YOUR TRIP TO AFRICA AND YOUR MEETINGS WITH PRIME MINISTER VORSTER AND THAT WE WOULD REMAIN IN CONTACT.

13. COMMENT: KAUNDA IS TAKEN WITH THE VIGOR, THE SENSE OF COMMITMENT AND THE OBVIOUS DETERMINATION OF THE UNITED STATES. AS THE ABOVE INDICATES HE IS OBVIOUSLY RELUCTANT TO GO ALL THE WAY AT THIS POINT AND HIS FINAL ATTITUDE MAY DEPEND ON

CONSULTATIONS WITH THE OTHER PRESIDENTS.

14. NEVERTHELESS I THINK IT WAS A CONSTRUCTIVE START TO MY MISSION, KEEPING IN MIND THAT IN POLITICAL TERMS KAUNDA IS CLOSER TO THE US AND MORE UNEASY ABOUT A MILITARY SOLUTION THAN NYERERE AND MACHEL.
SCHAUFELLE

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